2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

776 782 174 We have previously seen how carefully the Yakut allotted their spirits to different worlds and cardinal points. The *Abasy*, however, appear to dwell partly in the upper world and partly in the lower one. Further, to those *Abasy* (plur. *Abasylar*) who dwell only in the upper world horses are sacrificed, while to the *Abasy* of the lower world only horned cattle are offered. These spirits have their own households and cattle; but the upper *Abasy* have only horses while the lower ones have only horned cattle. While the *Ajÿsyt* (the goddess of birth) of horses appears to be a man-spirit, the *Ajÿsyt* of horned cattle is a woman spirit. This difference alone leads us to believe that we have here a compound of two conceptions of nature, the result of a consolidation of two different cultures. The man's *Ajÿsyt* is a woman to whom are addressed pleas for children, while prayers for the increase of horses and horned cattle are addressed to the earth's spirit owner. Why were only horses and not horned cattle consecrated to the supreme being, *Ürüñ Ajy Toyon*?

756 326 174 We have previously seen that *udahan* is a Mongol word and that *us* (smith) is Turkic. The Yakut, when comparing the power of black shamans and smiths, regard the latter as more powerful. They make no comparisons with reference to the *udahan's* power, but say that *udahans* are more powerful than men-shamans. The Yakut preserved the names of their former white shamans, but not those of white women-shamans. From this we might infer that white shamanism was not an aboriginal institution, and that black shamanism is a transformation of female shamans after their functions were transferred to men. No tales of white smiths (smiths working with copper and silver) are extant, but accounts of black smiths (iron smiths) relate that they are more powerful than black shamans. This leads us to the belief that the concept of black smiths and women-shamans appeared as ready-made institutions among the Yakut.

776 ● 764 We will cite another example. We have previously mentioned the upper and lower *Abasy* spirits, that the former possess horses (and also demand horses as sacrifices) and the latter, horned cattle. At burials the horse of the deceased was killed and buried with its master. Such horses had a special name, *xolynga*. At home a mare was killed in memory of the deceased. It was called *ūlā asa*, the worker's food, and was for those who made all the preparations for the burial. Later, a cow was substituted for the mare. When the number of horses decreased, the dead horse was not buried, but eaten at home. Still later, the flesh of a cow was eaten instead of a horse.

From the above it is obvious that the pre-Christian beliefs of the Yakut require further investigation to disentangle the different layers.

6: Sauer--129[2] G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 764, 756, 823

"The corpse is first dressed in the best apparel of the deceased, and stretched out; the arms tied tight round the waist; then inclosed in a strong box, with the knife, flint, steel, and tinder; also some meat and butter, 'that the dead may not hunger on the road to the dwelling of souls.' A shaman presides; the wives and relations accompany the procession to a certain distance; the favourite riding-horse of the deceased is saddled and accoutred, with hatchet, palma, kettle, &c. and led to the place of interment, as is also a fat mare. Two holes are dug under some tree; then the horse is killed, and buried in one, while the corpse is laid in the other. The mare is killed, dressed, and eaten by the guests; the skin suspended on the tree, under which the body lies with the head to the west. The shaman takes his tambour, and invokes the demons to let the spirits of the departed rest in peace, and finishes the ceremony by filling up the grave. A shaman is buried with the same ceremony, and his tambour with him."

10: Bush--300-301 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 764, 261

"On the death of a prince, Müller says, it [301] was their custom to sacrifice or bury alive with him his oldest servants or favorites, but other dead they sometimes left in the streets of Yakoutsk to be devoured by dogs. One of their original peculiarities they still retain--their voracious appetites. At feasts they used to strip themselves, in order that their stomachs might have full scope for expanding, and it was a frequent occurrence for some of them to die on the spot."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 168 [3] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 554, 764

"When an important man is buried his best horse is killed and eaten, and the head and hide in one piece are set up as a memorial. In the case of a woman a cow takes the place of a horse."

18: Priklonski--82 [3] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 764, 768, 775

After a man's death the soul is not immediately transferred to the realm of the demon, but wanders around the places where the defunct used to stay (especially where he has committed sins), through three days. The corpse, i.e. the body which has been left by the soul causes fear and shudder among those left behind. For an evil spirit dwells in the defunct, who by this fact alone makes the body impure, and makes so the tent in which the man has died. Traces of the Abassy's presence are visible all around in each thing. The family of the defunct therefore leaves the tent and emigrates to another locality or at most they construct a new tent near the abandoned one.

18: Priklonski--82 [4] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 764, 767

The dead are usually buried the next day, i. e. after the time necessary to arrange the burial. The corpse is washed and dressed in the best clothes: fur, fur cap, furred boots, and gloves; a pipe is put in the hand, and a tobacco bag laid near it. If the defunct was a hunter he is given bow and arrows; was he skillful in eviscerating animals and tanning hides, he gets the tools he used in his trade; was he a good bear hunter he is provided with a palma, i. e. a stick with a heavy iron end; with a spear or a hanger. A smith will get tools for boring holes (sugoltča), or a hammer (chtie). Every corpse is buried together with a pocket-knife (bygach; bys 'to cut'), an item no one would like to miss in one's lifetime.

It happens extremely seldom that the relatives bring the corpse to rest. As a rule there are certain people among the natives known as kjuvess, who dress the corpse, bring it to the burial ground, and bury it. They form a special guild of workers, a kind of undertakers with whom the family of the defunct agree upon a price, usually a cow, a bull, or the horse the deceased used to ride in his lifetime.

18: Priklonski--82 [6] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 493, 764, 767

After the corpse has been dressed it is taken away by the kjuvess (either alone or with the aid of companions) on a sledge. These wooden sledges, syyrgà as the Yakuts call them, are of the usual kind which is used to transport wood and other things needed in domestic life. No new sledge is made for this purpose. It must be borne in mind that vehicles on wheels have not been in use among the Yakuts until thirty or forty years ago, and the use of horses before a carriage is even more recent. In former times those who could not ride on horseback, e.g. children or sick persons, would move on a sledge drawn by an ox, through the whole year. It may be no more than fifteen years ago that noble Yakut women, paying visits to one another, still drove on peasants' sledges which were covered only with rugs, at summer time. The sledge driver rides on the ox, holding in his left hand a bridle to which a wooden ring is attached. The ring is fixed in the nostrils of the ox.

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

The grave, grave structure, or grave-mound is made by the kjuvess. Various forms have survived to the present time:

a) in a forest trees with many branches are chosen which form a short-sided quadrangle. At a height of two or three yards above the ground some horizontal timbers are laid on the trees; and upon these timbers the hollow trunk with the corpse is put. Such a burial place is known as Arangàs. In cases of emergency the hollow trunk is replaced by a rough chest.

b) in those areas where there are few or no woods corpses are put on the ground [83] in a trough made of birch bast or a hollow lodje [RCH: i.e., wooden boats] (vytka), and covered with boards. The rainstorms of the spring and melting snow flood those vytkas unless they have been destroyed before by common and stone foxes and other animals living on corpses.

c) To avoid this, in the northern part of the area the chest with the corpse is set on wooden pegs which rise a little above the ground. The corners of the grave are also adorned with wooden stork figures, a bird which enjoys particular veneration on the part of the shamans. The stork helps the souls of the dead to rise to heaven, the abode of the good spirits.

d) The last sort of dealing with a corpse is burial in the ground. With spade and pick-axe a hole, rarely more than one or one and a half yards deep, is dug. The ground in the

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

Yakut area does not thaw deeper than half a yard; in the Lena delta it is only the moss which then is dotted with small pools, at the bottom of which is perpetual ice. The custom of burying the dead in the ground is certainly due to Christian influence. This is suggested by the fact that carved crosses with oil paint are put on those graves. The hole is then enclosed in a fence.

18: Priklonski--83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 764, 767

Fear of the dead sometimes reaches such a degree that all the inhabitants of a yurta may flee away before the man has actually died. Thus recently, an old, honorable man, who used to read from the psalter at the side of the deceased, told me the following happening which he himself had experienced: Two Yakuts had come to town (Yakutsk) to see him and to ask him to read psalms for a dead man and to bury him. They led him to the yurta where he found the dead man lying on the oron (Yakut word), i. e. on a couch or part of the couch, opened the door for him, pushed him into the hut and hid themselves somewhere. Nobody was in the yurta, yet it was obvious that it had been abandoned a short time before. After a while a cattle leg was thrown into the hut for him. It became night, and no one came to the yurta. However, there was some wood and water, and the psalter reader prepared something to eat for himself. The next day the door of the yurta was opened and a coffin in form of a square chest was pushed in. The old man was also notified that there was a sledge with the ox waiting outside. When at last the time came to put the corpse in the chest, to carry it out of the hut, to load it on the sledge, to drive to the place agreed upon, to let the coffin down into the grave, and to fill the grave up, it was all up to the old man. The yurta was situated in a desert where he could not find any other inhabited place or discover any person who might have been to him of some assistance; so the old man rolled the corpse down from the oron into the coffin placed below, pulled the latter out of the hut, tugged it on the sledge, and, after his arrival at the place of destination, he let the coffin down to the grave as well as he

could. Not a single relative or friend of the deceased had come to this burial. - If people cry during burial ceremonies, they do so sincerely and without hypocrisy, or out of some calculation, e. g.: "To whom hast thou, o father and supporter, left thy orphans?" etc. As a rule they cry silently lest other people should observe them. They try not to talk of the deceased especially at dusk, in order to avoid the return of the evil spirit who has robbed the dead man's soul.

18: Priklonski--83 [4] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 764, 766, 823

Graves in wooden boats (lodje) put upon wooden pegs I saw on the Sagstyr island. The corpses in all of the some twelve graves were so arranged that their heads pointed to northwest; they lay on the left side of the body. They were dressed and equipped as mentioned above. At their feet (with hardly one exception) there was a little dish filled with groats, and a small wooden spoon. Those buried in the boats had an oar and a scoop of the kind which is used by sailors to rid a boat of water.

Children are buried like adults, except that they are taken away on little sledges, and that they are left in the cradles where they had grown up and died. On children's graves one can still see their toys lying on the top.

18: Priklonski--84 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 764

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5.

Jakutische Grabstätten. Nach der Natur gezeichnet von Basilij Priklonski.

18: Priklonski--85 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 764

The sledge on which the corpse is carried, the shovel, the pickaxe with which the ground has been opened, sometimes also the wooden collar of the ox--all this was and still is left at the grave, sometimes cautiously broken, and nothing is taken home. A story has been told to the effect that upon the burial of a rich man his horse was killed and the meat eaten, but the harness left near the grave. But the natives deny this and other stories which are popular among the Russians, including the tale of the killing of the dead man's favorite servant to give him a servant also in the other world.

18: Priklonski--85 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 372, 532, 764, 769, 776

On the way home from the burial bunches of wood were kindled on the way; and the defunct's relatives jump across the flames in order to make themselves clean and free from the evil spirit who might have penetrated their clothes during the period of inevitable intercourse with their sick companion. Fire or the demon of fire, An-darchan-toen, or Al-ɔt-iccitja is the protector of the homes and of all persons living under one roof. Fire makes everything clean, it affords warmth, it helps prepare food. The god of fire dwells over the stove, and has the appearance of an old dwarf with a white beard. When preparing a meal it is advisable to throw the first bit of it into the stove. The evil spirit is afraid of the fire; therefore, when the dead man's relatives jump across the fire they leave the evil spirit behind. When they are back, they commemorate the defunct, or rather they treat each other in his honor with meat, salomata, tea, and liquor. In former times they also used to carve a commemorative wooden figure, two or three sixteenths of a yard high, and to decorate them with hides and glass pearls. While this representation was to recall the dead man, it is also supposed to be the spirit who protects the soul of the defunct and the latter himself in the other world. This puppet, however, was not kept in the yurta, but in the choton (Yakut word for cattle pen) or even in a hollow tree, where it was supplied with some bits of good food, and its mouth was smeared with cow's butter or trainoil, to feed him and to secure his protective spirit's aid. But time which destroys everything removed also this puppet to substitute a new one for another

defunct; and the old one had to be content with the second rank. Life asserted itself. Every day would bring new impressions, sad and agreeable, older events were forgotten, and memories of that kind have disappeared without a trace in the dark of the past, along with the memory of men.

40: Burr--66 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 764

"Here and there I came across old graveyards; one, on the top of a hill near by, placed there apparently without rhyme or reason, was a pathetic relic, neglected and tumbled, with wooden crosses on which you could decipher some simple inscription in Russian. The dates were of recent years, and I saw one marked '1911,' but no one seemed to care for it. I was told that it was a Yakut cemetery, for all the Yakuts who are in contact with the Russians are Orthodox Christians. I noticed in other places too they chose the tops of small isolated hills ridges with ground falling away on every side for their graveyards, which is perhaps a touch of sentiment or a relic of some Shamanistic belief, for paganism survives among the trappers and hunters of the dense forests."

43: Karutz--74 [9] E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 764, 775

Life after death is considered as wholly certain. The corpses are put in half, hollow tree-trunks which are suspended between trees; the huts of the dead are allowed to decay.

45: Lesseps--310 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 177, 764

"Remains of old tombs of the Yakouts were frequently pointed out to me in the woods. They were coffins clumsily made, and suspended on the branches of trees. I know not from what motive they have renounced this custom of exposing their dead in the open air, and a distance from their habitaions; but at present their mode of interment is familiar to that of christians."

45: Lesseps--310-312 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut--1--2
116, 764

" The funerals are attended with a kind of pomp more or less magnificent, in proportion to the rank and wealth of the defunct. If a prince, he is arrayed in his finest habits, and most splendid arms. The body, placed in a coffin, is carried by the family to the tomb; deep groans announce the solemn [311] procession. His favourite horse, and another the best of his stud, both richly caparisoned, and led by a valet, or near relation, walk by the side of the corpse. When arrived at the burying place, they are tied to two stakes (1) fixed near the grave, and while the

1. The bark is stripped off, and the stakes either painted various colours, or ornamented with rude sculpture.

master is interred, their throats are cut over the corpse. This bloody libation is the homage paid to his attachment to these animals, who are supposed to follow him into the other world, where it is imagined that he will again be able to enjoy them. They are then flayed; the head and hide, in one entire piece, are fixed horizontally upon the branches of trees at a small distance from the grave; and such is the memorial that is erected. Afire is then kindled, and the last proof of friendship for the deceased consists in roasting and eating upon the spot these favoured animals. The feast being [312]concluded the company disperses. The same ceremonial

116, 764

is observed for a woman, except that instead of a horse, they sacrifice her favourite cow."

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter 224 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but 226 keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type, 882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

771 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the ex-
776 ternal, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, in-
756 vading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were
[171] the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaans. The
776 saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk)
[531] Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed